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AN

ORATION,

DELIVERED IN MIDDLEBURY,

AT THE

CELEBRATION

OF THE

FOURTH OF JULY,

A. D. 1809.

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BY SAMUEL SWIFT, ESQ., A. M.

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*“ LIBERTY is indeed little else than a name, when the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprizes of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.”*

WASHINGTON.

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MIDDLEBURY, VERMONT,  
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MIDDLEBURY, July 4, 1809.

SAMUEL SWIFT, ESQ.

SIR,

*IN behalf of the Audience, the Committee of Arrangements tender you their cordial thanks for your very excellent Oration pronounced this day, and request a copy for the press.*

JOHN P. HENSHAW,  
HARVEY BELL, jun.  
UDNEY H. EVEREST,  
THOMAS LELAND, jun.  
WILLIAM P. HERRICK,  
W. WOOD BRUSH,

} Committee of  
Arrangements.

—○○○—  
MIDDLEBURY, JULY 5, 1809.

GENTLEMEN,

*IT is indeed flattering, that you suppose any production of mine, written in a short time, and under the embarrassments of professional perplexity and bodily infirmity, should be worthy of the public eye. If this performance had been more perfumed with the oil of the midnight lamp, more polished by the labors of the closet, and more fraught with sentiment from the works of wiser politicians, it might have been more useful and more interesting: You will perceive it has not the advantage of either.—But, however unpropitious were the circumstances under which the Oration was written, if it contains any sentiment, for the correctness of that I ask no indulgence:—That has not been the production of embarrassed reflection, or dictated by the enthusiasm of this celebration:—It was implanted in my breast with my earliest political impressions, and has “grown with my growth and strengthened with my strength.” In addition to the inducement of your request, I am much influenced by the solicitations of some friends, who, from their remote situation in the house and my own weakness of lungs, were unable to hear the whole. For these reasons—not because the Oration is worthy of so much notice—a copy is at your disposal.*

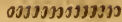
I am, Gentlemen,

*With sincere solicitude for your future happiness and prosperity,  
Your humble servant,*

S. SWIFT.

Messrs. John P. Henshaw, and others, }  
Committee of Arrangements. }

## ORATION.



THE origin and progressive history of nations is ever an interesting subject of contemplation. With their fortunes are connected the liberty, the happiness and almost the very being of our whole race.—But the germe of national existence and liberty is generally planted in a soil, luxuriant of the frailties, the ignorance and the vices of man ; and, like the infant of days, their commencement is distinguished by nothing but their imbecility.—The world has witnessed many nations, which have gradually emerged from such small and feeble beginnings, and have continued for a while the brilliant monuments of the influence of virtue, freedom and glory ; until, at length, they have been swept away by the flood of national corruption, and have left no traces behind them, but the melancholy ruins of desolated greatness. In the checkered history of national prosperity and suffering, we have read, and wept at the fate of some states, which in the vigor of youth, and the full possession of freedom and glory have fallen, guiltless victims, to the sword of foreign tyrants or domestic traitors.

BUT the occasion, on which we are met, Americans, presents us a more splendid subject of contemplation. We are not this day called to celebrate the existence of a nation, whose origin is marked with obscurity and imbecility :—Or the short-lived being of a state, closed by the convulsive struggles of an untimely dissolution. We celebrate the emancipation of an empire from political oppression.

AMERICA had received her existence, and had arrived to the vigor of mature age in the leading-strings of an arrogant—

a dotard mother. Ever dutiful, but conscious of her untimely dependence, on the fourth of July, one thousand, seven hundred and seventy-six, she adopted the adventurous resolution of breaking, with her own arm, the chain which entwined her existence to that of Great Britain. The events of that memorable day, after an awful conflict of eight years, in which every heart stood trembling and appalled at the impending aspect, which enshrouded our political horizon, terminated in her deliverance:—And America, at once, stood disenthralled, and clad in the robes of majesty.

But let us not dwell too long, with melancholy rapture, on the events of that dreadful—that glorious day. While we drop a tear over the tomb of the war-worn soldier, who, after fighting the battles, and bearing the wounds of his country, has sunk under the agonies of dissolving nature:—While we heave a sigh of sympathetic sorrow for the widowed matron, whose husband—whose son—whose last hope has been immolated on the altar of her country; let us pass to a subject, which is not less useful, if less susceptible of the embellishments of rhetoric.—At this period, all our recollections should not be occupied with the tribute of gratitude, which is due to those, who have obtained our independence; while we fold our arms at ease, as if secure from the dreadful destiny, which may blight our fairest hopes.

WHEN America assumed her destined rank, among the nations of the world, she presented a spectacle as novel in the history of mankind, as it was interesting: It was a spectacle, which excited not barely the joyous—the patriotic enthusiasm of her own sons;—but every nation on the globe partook of the admiration and enthusiasm of Americans. Her deliverance was hailed as the introduction of one uninterrupted halcyon scene—a universal political millenium—a deliverance of the whole world from the ignorance, the vices and the corruption,

which, from the first dawn of light upon this lower world, had fixed the destiny of man in a state of slavery to his fellow-man. By some, who had more patriotism than political intelligence, it was imagined, that the maxims, which the experience of other nations and ages had matured, were sown and vegetated in the depravity of other nations and ages, and did not apply to the purity and perfection of renovated man. The dreamers and theorizers of the day looked forward with extatic anticipation to the period, when the few remaining imperfections and consequent sufferings and misfortunes of our once despairing race would involuntarily drop from us, and leave us in no respects below the unimbodyed spirits above us, but in the abodes, we were destined to inhabit.

DELIBERATE, practical men, who had less elevated sentiments of the revolution, which had taken place toward the perfection of our natures, still supposed, that the maxims of other times had some reference to the state in which our deliverance had left us. They still apprehended it possible that our freedom might be but the dazzling splendor of a day; that its excesses might poison the brilliant hopes it had excited, and give us, in exchange for our dependence, the more awful destiny of domestic anarchy. They supposed that something was yet to be done to secure our prosperity.

MEN of theory, on the other hand believed that already our national glory was as secure as the virtue of freemen could make it under the fostering care of the wisdom and patriotism of men, who knew too much of the price and value of freedom to intrust it in any hands but their own. Indeed the character of freemen was almost too elevated to be trammelled by the imposition of the necessary duties for the support of government or the restrictions of salutary law. It was not indeed an unpopular sentiment of that day, that *the people* were a kind of infallible many-headed divinity;—that their voice (impious profanation!) was the

voice of the Almighty ;—or that they had, at least, an implicit title to the perfection, the nominal application of which some tyrants have arrogated to themselves, that they “ can do no wrong.”

IN the sentiments of this early period of our history we may trace the germe of that discordance of sentiment, which, during our whole national existence has distracted our councils ;—rent assunder the dearest ties of individual friendship ; and jeopardized our very liberties. Perhaps we may look to the visions of this day for some of the dangers—some of the misfortunes, which have lately impended our national prosperity. It is not strange, that the same reveries of the imagination, which for many years have distracted a populous and powerful empire of the old world with revolutionary butcheries and the persecutions of phrenzy should have contaminated the political sentiments of America.

OUR country had scarce rested from the toils of her revolutionary conflict, when she was agitated with the contending sentiments, which practical and theoretical men had formed of her future destiny. The revolution had left her consisting of thirteen independent sovereignties, with various and conflicting interests and prejudices—with no uniting ties, which could scarce secure the ordinary reciprocation of a friendly intercourse—and with no common sentiments, but their inveterate prejudices for uncontrolled licentiousness. Impatient of the tardiness of their anticipated mellenial felicities, the people could scarce be persuaded to bear the impositions made necessary to repair the national bankruptcy, and the remaining effects of the ravages of war. Their discontents had already broken out into overt acts of rebellion, and threatened to snatch our anticipated happiness from our grasp.

IT was the great desideratum to unite these discordant materials into the form of a government, which would add to



permanency in duration the liberty and security of the people. On one side, men thought they could read in the records of national turmoil and misfortune—and in the page of human nature, blackened with ambition and crime, the necessity of concentrating the principal energies of the nation. They thought they saw in State ambition and individual licentiousness the seeds of the nation's malady, which would bring on her infancy, at least the grey hairs and imbecility of dotage.

ON the other, it was thought by some that the American States must look alone for danger to the inordinate lust of the whole to swallow up its parts; and by others, who had been more accustomed to trace the inflexible principles of mathematical science, than to adopt those of common sense to the characters and circumstances of men and nations, from the metaphysical proposition they had formed, "that the people cannot be their own enemies," believed that America "with all the vigor of youth and splendor of innocence was gifted with immortality."

IT was in the conflict of these various sentiments, that, after contending with the well-meant theories of visionary philosphists, and the prejudices and designed wickedness of licentiousness, the present frame of our government was formed and received the seal of the nation. But with the formation of a constitution, the delirium of infuiated phrenzy did not cease to canker the vital principles of the State.

WASHINGTON, who had scarce retired with the fadeless laurels he had plucked from the fields of his country's battles, and who was destined to add a civic to his martial crown, composed for a while the convulsed elements of the American character. He had not run mad with theory and the Utopean dreams of the day: He had learned from the prosperity and adversity—from the revolutions and conflicts of other nations, that ambition—that passion composed a great proportion of the

elements of the political world. Nor were his the politics of metaphysical deduction;—they were the science of common sense. It is the pride of federalists that the politics of Washington are theirs.—By the reputation he had acquired in the field he was without a rival:—But, by his administration in the cabinet, he out-rivalled his own reputation. He had an almost uncontrolled command over the passions and prejudices of men:—But it was not the control of oppression; it was the influence of virtue and wisdom.

WHILE his character influenced the destinies of America, the licentiousness, which had been nurtured in the cradle of her revolution, burst out for a while but in the half-smothered ebullitions of discontent. Few of his political opposers dared to attack his private fame, and those few have acknowledged their infamy in the involuntary tribute of praise, which they now pay to his name. But the spirit of opposition was not long confined to the silent whispers of disaffection.

A REVOLUTIONARY fire had been kindled in France, from a spark, it was said, which had been elicited from our revolutionary conflict. Its blaze flashed across the Atlantic, and set on fire the kindred elements, which had not become latent in the breasts of the opposers of the American government. The revolutionary prejudices and partialities toward England and France had not subsided: While the one was coupled in estimation with tyranny and oppression; the other, “with all her crimes upon her head,” was hailed as the hand-maid of virtue, innocence and glory. Such were the prejudices—such the devotion of the sycophants of French barbarity on this side of the water, that they were zealous to ape the very depravities—the very crimes of Frenchmen. The French national convention, in impious solemnity, voted—That there is no GOD—that death is an eternal sleep. The opposers of the American government became the avowed contemners of God and his holy religion.—

The "Terrible Republic," in her infatuation, had sworn eternal resentment to all the monarchs of the earth; and had begun the benevolent work of purifying, like herself, by an exterminating war, many nations, whose air was purer than her own, from the contagion of oppression and crime.

WASHINGTON and his administration, who had risen superior to the revolutionary resentments and prejudices, felt the same respect for the justice, and the same indignation for the crimes of all nations. Because they would not bow their submissive necks to the contemptuous insolence of the emissary of French frenzy, and acknowledge, on our own shores, the supremacy of the representative of their depravity and excesses:—And because they would not violate the faith they had plighted to other nations by solemn treaty, and, with unconditional zeal, enlist in the dreadful contest, which France, without justice and without right, had begun with the whole world, the fathers of our Country, the asserters and defenders of her rights were denounced before the tribunal of the public, as "hoary-headed traitors"—as the enemies of liberty and France and the advocates of England and oppression. The honest prejudices of some, the theoretic folly, and the ambition and wickedness of others were the combustible materials which communicated the conflagration from one end of the continent to the other. And at length the principles, which dictated this spirit of opposition, were infused into every department of the State in the administration of Mr. Adams' successor.

IN this compendious sketch we trace the visible lineaments of the two great political parties, whose animosities still shake the pillars of the state to its centre. These principles are not dictated by the madness of a day; but have each been nurtured with care from the dawn of our political existence. And on their prevalence may depend the future fortune of America.

IN favor of one, its supporters appeal to the plainest dictates of common sense ; and point you to the experience of all nations and ages : They point you to the awful fate, to which have been doomed the fairest hopes that ever brightened the prospects of republican virtue.

IN favor of the other, you are charged to place implicit confidence in the affected virtue of freemen ; and are confounded with the logical arguments of closeted theorists.—Political dreamers and state jugglers have ever puzzled their heads in vain—in vain will they ever puzzle their heads to find out schemes of government, which are not founded in experience :—In vain will statesmen adopt measures, deduced solely from speculative principles, and not adapted to the characters and passions of men. Such, for a while, may amuse the vanity of their authors, and the curiosity of the world, with the ingenuity of their contrivance :—And, like the metaphysical speculations of schoolmen, which added darkness to the most dismal midnight of the human intellect, may distract the distempered brains of other madmen : But, in duration, they are the temporary dreams of a night.—The principles of government, and the spirit of the laws should ever conform to the infinitely varied interests, habits and caprices of men.

ON these principles, the framers of our constitution formed the system of compromise and practical wisdom, which is still the boast of Americans. These are the principles, which energized the springs of our national government for twelve years.—We need not appeal to the assistance of analytical argument :—We need not call to our aid the testimony of other nations to try the comparative virtue of those principles, which gave life and vigor to the administrations of Washington and Adams :—We need only compare them with the effects of that blighted wisdom, which gave a morbid animation to that which succeeded.

BUT, let not the sensibility of neutral politicians be tortured with anticipated wounds, at the mention of so invidious a com-

parison.—In putting the pencil to the canvass, and drawing the lineaments of the administration, which has now passed away, the features of imbecility and error, not those of wickedness, will be my object. For the sake of the public quiet, I will not—I dare not lift the veil, which conceals the personal vices, or private crimes of any political man. If, with unhallowed lips, I dare pronounce the name of Jefferson, I will not disturb the memory of his private life : I shall mention him only as the representative of a political philosophy, as imbecile in theory, as destructive in practice. And even, if the sentiments, which have influenced the destiny of America for eight years, were but the sentiments of a president and his privy council, they might pass, with their authors, undisturbed to the retirements of private life : They are only worthy of notice, because they are the real or adopted sentiments of a dominant party.—Nor would I unnecessarily fan the fire of party rage, which is now ready to wrap the continent in flames.—At the mention of this subject, the heart thrills with the emotions of mingled horror and regret. By the influence of its poisonous principles many of the social endearments of life are destroyed ;—brother is armed against brother in a deadly warfare of political extermination. We boast of our wisdom ; but the avenues of political conviction are forever closed to the arguments of reason : They are spent in vain upon the passions and prejudices of men.—Already the infection is corroding the virtue and morals—the last hopes—the vital principles of our republican institutions : And the sickly constitution of our government is tottering at the approach of dissolution. But, if there is ground of alarm ; I will not hesitate to sound the tocsin. If there is danger in the erroneous sentiments, which influence the springs of national action ;—I will not shrink from the task of portraying the danger of that error.

It is indeed painful to anticipate misfortunes. We turn with disgust from the picture of impending misery. We hate to dwell in our contemplations on the wretchedness of anarchy,

or oppression, or on the abodes of that despair, which accompanies the loss of recollected freedom. We hate to contemplate the horrors of anticipated war—our friends butchered—our dwellings wrapped in flames. But the dread of expecting danger may one day bring upon us an accumulated weight of realized wretchedness.

THE American government had been, for some time, animated with the emanations of genius and energy, which beamed from the resplendent mind of Washington. Under the auspices of his administration, the dislocated fragments of the American States had become adjusted into a well proportioned form, which, while it presaged permanency to the duration of its prosperity, gave a certain pledge of freedom and security to the people. Their measures and laws, instead of weakening, seemed to concentrate the scarce united powers of the nation, and to energize every spring of government.

WASHINGTON, who felt no impulses but those, which were inspired by a regard to the prosperity and glory of his Country, in selecting candidates for the offices in his power, had ever been deaf to the sollicitations of party, or private friendships.

WHENEVER rebellion reared its head in the clamours of discontent, his active and vigilant mind, with complacent energy, resisted the threatening danger. When the infamous Genet landed on our shores commissioned from the dreadful cabinet of French imposture and delusion, to erect a standard here where the incipient spirit of rebellion had fired many a breast ;—then—never did the mind of man shine so resplendent as Washington's—O, then—I tremble at the destiny we escaped—if our cabinet had then been directed by French partialities, in less time—with infinitely less struggle, than it cost her to escape the fangs of British oppression, America might have been ingulphed in the tremendous horrors of French murder and devastation. But by the influence of the federal administration, the emissary of

France was disrobed of his official terrors and the nation was partially composed.

UNDER the guidance of Washington and Adams' administrations, the nation had repaired her bankrupt fortunes :—She had lost the character of a factious, contemptible republic : And by her commerce, whose canvass whitened every sea and every ocean ;—by her arts and her wealth, she had become elevated to an enviable rank among the nations of the earth. Mr. Jefferson found her emphatically “ in the full tide of successful experiment.” Happy for America, if her experiment had been as successful under the auspices of his administration.

WHEN the philosopher of Monticello was selected by the suffrages of his country to direct her destinies, every mouth was prepared to proffer the homage of approbation. It was hoped, that the licentiousness and philosophic madness, which had fitted so well as the gowns of the leaders of an aspiring faction, might never enrobe the magistracy of our Country. But, Alas ! many of the features of the late administration are marked with the deep-impressed influence of those principles, which received their existence in the same soil, where vegetated the spirit of American freedom, were invigorated by the aliment of French revolutionary rebellion, and have ever since grown rank under the careful culture of its advocates. Their influence was early discovered in immolating to the demon of the day every tried patriot, by whose aid America had attained her distinguished elevation. The heroes of the revolution were ungratefully forced from office to give place to men, who, in that day of danger and suffering, were “ puling in their nurses' arms,” and were distinguished by no reputation, but that mock fame, which is heard only in the clamorous huzzas of a mob ; and withers with the factious turbulence, that gave it existence.

WHEN an European nation had deprived us of a right, guaranteed by her own solemn agreement, and which she was una-

ble to withhold, this administration, like one, whose disposition is better refreshed by the ease of philosophic speculation, and more conversant with the bargain and sale of a counting-house, than the danger of powder and ball, exhausted our treasury to buy it back :—It was indeed a gainful acquisition of our own right, because we bought with it the vices and the turbulence of all Europe.

AMERICA, by the contiguity of her immense shore to waters, which unite her to the arts and wealth of every nation on the globe, seems destined to become great by her commercial enterprise. No nation, ancient or modern, was ever free, or great without the enterprise and communication of commercial intercourse. By its aid, the nations of the ancient world erected a monumental pillar which, although they have long since been buried in the great cemetery of nations, will give to the remembrance of their liberty and glory the perpetuity of time. By its aid, the dignity and freedom of Modern Europe resuscitated from the dismal grave of liberty, science and the arts.—The exportation of the superabundant produce of our immense Country, while it buys the conveniences and enjoyments—the arts and improvements of the world, inspires her sons with a spirit of industry, which secures them against the terrors of famine and the wretchedness of vice ; and with a spirit of enterprise and improvement, which are ever a protection against the encroachments of power.—Instead of that fostering care, to which our Commerce was entitled, we have seen it blighted by the baleful influence of that system of politics, which our nation will deplore, when the names of many of its advocates are erased from perpetual remembrance.—It is not <sup>alone</sup> by an embargo of eighteen months, which has left “ shelterless and naked,” or clad in indigence and rags a numerous portion of our industrious citizens, that we judge of its hostility to commerce.

WHEN the nation were anxiously looking up to the administration of our government for protection from the reiterated in-



sult and insolence of European nations, which have disgraced our national history, they looked in vain. We have seen the wealth of America exposed to sudden and resistless assault—our towns ready to be sacked and in flames, under the influence of an inefficient system of protection. Americans demanded a system of dignified naval defence for the protection of our seaboard and commerce, and were answered “We give you a gross of gun-boats fresh from the philosophic crucible of the nation.” They demanded the suppression of domestic treason, and the execution of justice upon the foreign insulters of our Country, and were amused and afflicted, more than our enemies were terrified with *proclamations* and “restrictive energies.”

BUT, we are not disposed to make war upon a few measures of an administration, whose effects may cease with the perishable fame of their authors. It is not in them—it is in the sentiments, which govern the springs of national action, that we may find danger. The fabric of our Constitution, is built upon a system of compromise ; calculated to be fitted up for various degrees of refinement and vice, to which the nation may be destined. But it needs the constant vigilance of those, to whom it is intrusted.

ON one side, the growing licentiousness and immorality of the Country are ready to undermine its pillars ;—on the other, state ambition and jealousy are ready to rise upon its desolated ruins.—One needs not to be gifted with a spirit of prophetic anticipation to predict, that, if ever we are doomed to the melancholy fate, which has despoiled the happiness and prosperity of every nation, from the morning of time to this period, we shall owe our misfortunes to the united influence of these two calamitous principles.

IF we have any regard to the rights and liberties, which alone elevate us, in the least, above the most groveling slaves of Turkish despotism, it is time—it is high time, we were alarmed at the increasing impression they are making upon our once bril-

liant hopes.—Not only the native vigor of the Constitution is suffered to languish without the aid of the corresponding energy of the laws ; but many of the strongest and safest pillars of the constitution are already uprooted.

THE constitutional mode of choosing the chief magistrate of the Union was ever a sure pledge against the intrigue of the large States, and an invaluable consideration to the small ones, for the influence, in the national councils, of three-fifths of the black slaves of Virginia. But this important pillar is removed from the superstructure : And Virginia may forever have a president of her own.

OUR national system of jurisprudence is almost the last tie—the last feature of our constitution, in which we can place a common confidence. But its independence, without which, liberty is but a *solemn mockery*, has been attacked, with a no less ruthless arm : An important part of it has been sunk forever ; the judges of the remainder have been arraigned without cause before the most august tribunal of the nation ; and its jurisdiction attempted to be wholly destroyed.

To this dreadful account of our danger we may add our increasing defection from the moral and political virtue of our ancestors. The influence of modern skepticism, and the doctrine of unconstrained licentiousness, which have ever been the attendants of the political philosophy of our country, have given an accelerated rapidity to the progress of our national depravity. The sacred institutions of religion, our only protection against licentiousness and vice, and the only security for our republicanism, have been decried as the instruments of oppression in the hands of tyrants : And religion itself, as a lure to beguile us into slavery.—The levelling system of *extreme equality* has not been the least destructive sentiment of modern political philosophy. By its advocates, consequences have been encouraged, which even they, in the sobriety of dispassionate

reason, dare not allow. In the fervor of affected patriotism, they have waged successful war upon that distinction, which is due to virtue, talents and age, and upon that sentiment of elevation, which belongs to those, who are enrobed with the authority of the laws ; and which are so necessary to the order and harmony of every public and private community. In this respect, the order of well-regulated society is totally reversed : And the pure ermine of justice is scarce thought contaminated by commingling with the debauchery of the meanest servant of vice, which disgraces community. Even filial piety, and conjugal and fraternal affection are scarce placed on the list of virtues by the disciples of the modern school. This reversion of the order of nature, and this confusion of all the distinctions of society, have much accelerated the progress of licentious sentiment.— By thus removing all the restraints of legal, moral and religious responsibility the passions and depraved appetites of man are let loose to prey upon the virtue and morals of our Country : And we have already anticipated, in our infancy, the vices of old age.

It is deplorable, that among the numerous hordes, who have so long been wandering in the mazes of error, very few are now able to dispel enough of the mists of political prejudice to find out even the narrow paths of strict moral honesty : And still fewer are free from the implicit control of political dishonesty.

It is deplorable, that our right of suffrage, instead of being, as we boast, our peculiar safeguard, has already become venal, and is debased to the object of bribery and corruption, and the successful instrument of aspiring politicians : And by further corrupting our political morality may itself become the very means of our subjugation. All the political liberty—all the right, which we boast of governing ourselves, will be but an *ignis fatuus* to lead us into danger, when they cease to be the pledge of our personal liberty and security. We shall then in

vain be proud of our freedom of suffrage;—we may then vote—and vote—and we shall but vote ourselves the slaves of some popular tyrant.—I would not give the smallest endearment of private life for the liberty of voting myself Emperor of the world if it would not secure to me the liberty of my person, and the enjoyment of my property and my friends.

IN every free government, the ~~progress~~ national depravity is never stationary unless checked by laws, which anticipate its progress.—The first dawnings of moral, or political corruption should be resisted by the energy of the law, and the vigor of its execution.—To us—to all republics, the only foundation of whose hope is virtue, it is doubly important. Should America ever be scourged with the vices and crimes of European nations, she cannot expect their duration.

PERHAPS we may read our fortunes in the history of the Amphictionick league, which, like our constitution, united under one head all the Republics of Greece. The chain which united them was inbecile and inefficient: They soon become degenerate; and the rights and fortunes of the small states were lost in the wars and conflicts of Athens and Sparta. At length the Thebans and Thessalians, actuated by a common resentment, proscribed the Phocians of their remaining privileges, and invited the arms of all Greece to execute the proscription. At length, the ambitious Philip of Macedon, with an ardent and popular zeal, enlisted in the ~~same~~ <sup>same</sup> war, and taking advantage of their factions and dissensions, made himself the acknowledged master of the whole.

VIRGINIA, Pennsylvania and New-York are each of sufficient extent to become powerful empires.—Whenever the sons of American pilgrims shall lose the rigid virtue of their fathers; whenever they shall become susceptible of bribery and corruption, we shall in vain expect those powerful States will

brook an equality with Rhode-Island and Delaware under the ties which now render them constituent members of the same government.

PERHAPS we have yet to learn from chastisement—from adversity and suffering—from revolution and war, the value and danger of our liberties. Already we seem ripe for the dissolution, which some politicians have deemed, the *cut-throat* of Republics. Should not the growing licentiousness of the State be checked by timely resistance, we may expect to see it undermining the pillars of our Union, and the fair fabric, which has hitherto protected us from the storms of anarchy and civil discord, crumbling to dislocated fragments, and our rights buried in their stupendous ruins. Instead of our liberty, we may become the slaves of some popular sycophant, whose *specific levity*, in the effervescence of party rage, has raised him to power over the ruins of our virtue and prosperity. Instead of the pure and invigorating air, which we inhale in the habitations of freedom, we may inhabit the abodes of oppression, where horror and wretchedness will be our companions : Where not one solitary ray of hope shall cheer the dismal midnight of despair : Where the gray hairs of old age shall sink “with sorrow to the grave ;” and the sons of American freeman, roaming through the dreary haunts of hopeless slavery, will but aggravate each other’s wretchedness, by reciprocating the melancholy lamentation—“Alas ! we were once free ;—but now, farewell, delightful fields of once realized freedom—farewell hope :—Welcome slavery—welcome wretchedness—welcome dungeons of an unfeeling tyrant !”

BUT, let us turn our eyes from this picture of misery, to where hope animates the prospect.—Perhaps the day of strange things and governmental folly, with its dark foreboding clouds, has passed from our land. Perhaps the sun of federalism has not set forever :—And the radiant beams, which are seen springing from the east may be but the dawn of its “latter day glory.”

IT has been the favorite theory of some politicians, that the gangrene of national constitutions is as certain as the dissolution of the human frame. But the disease of your government, Americans, is implanted no where but in your own passions and vices, which are the subjects of your control. The constitution of your government, if administered with the energy, which resists the first risings of rebellion and vice, may yet preserve your prosperity. As you estimate the privileges of freemen, support by your virtue and example—support by your suffrages the sentiments, which will ensure them.—Let your minds be elevated above the prejudice, which withholds confidence from the members of an opposite party.—Where there is virtue—where there is wisdom—there should be your confidence.

SHOULD the hope be realized, which is excited by the first measure of our present chief magistrate, in the prompt and impartial settlement of our long disturbed relations with a foreign power, and in rescuing us, by his benevolent arm, from impending misfortune and realized suffering, the name of Madison may yet be our “strong tower.” Under his guidance, perhaps, we may turn, like the prodigal son, from our licentiousness, riot and beggary, clad in the sable habiliments of mourning and repentance, and sufficiently chastised for our national backsliding.

BUT, under whatever guidance, we turn from our wayward paths, if not too late, to those of unshaken integrity and dignified practical wisdom, we shall soon see America rising—and rising, until the handful of impoverished patriots of '76 shall out rival the nations of the old world in whatever is great, prosperous, or happy.



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